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The People.

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THE PEOPLE

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NOTED INCREASE EVERYWHERE IN NEW YORK.

S. L. P. Vote May this Year Reach 50,000 Mark in the Nation.

Iowa.

Davenport, Ia., Nov. 8.—We poll here 348 votes. We have doubled in the State.

Kentucky.

Louisville, Ky., Nov. 6.—Unofficial returns give R. P. Caldwell (for Councilman) 106 votes, and the balance of the ticket averages 97 votes. This is more than the Populist and Prohibitionist combined. They are simply not in it, and the S. L. P. is the third party with our first attempt.

Massachusetts.

With the exception of 33 little towns, which polled 54 votes last year, and Boston, which polled 1,050 votes, the State Committee has full reports from all other towns and cities of Massachusetts. The vote in the towns heard from is 5,217, adding to this the probable vote of Boston, calculated at 1,300, our vote will reach the total of 6,717, as against 4,548 of last year.

Some of our candidates on the State ticket ran away ahead of the ticket, and may reach 8,000 and more. The vote is all the more gratifying since it is evenly divided all over the State, and shows a healthy growth of our party.

For the purpose of comparison we will mention the vote of the larger towns, which enables us to form a more correct idea of the steady growth of our party, and also suggests new fighting grounds.

The towns marked with a star (*) indicate that we have a section there for some time. The places marked with a dagger (†) indicate a Section formed during the campaign:

	1896.	1897.
*Boston	1,050	....
*Worcester	129	968
*Holyoke	209	301
*Lawrence	209	265
*Haverhill	144	252
*Lynn	165	197
*Springfield	96	171
*New Bedford	167	155
*Pittsfield	61	152
*Fall River	141	149
†Brockton	45	144
*Adams	94	105
*North Adams	41	102
*Fitchburg	82	105
*Westfield	42	81
Cambridge	92	132
†Everett	39	76
†Somerville	66	73
†Lowell	32	84
†Malden	46	88
Chelsea	51	73
Gloucester	35	69
Rockland	8	64
Beverly	14	45
Chicopee	26	44
Abington	6	42
Webster	32	42
†Stoneham	10	38
*Northampton	39	24
Newburyport	19	25
Danvers	9	25
Weymouth	8	23
Amesbury	10	22
Hyde Park	17	23
Marblehead	10	16
†Hudson	10	12

There is also a humorous side to every election; it comes from two unexpected sources. The Town Clerk of Lunenburg, Worcester County, reports to the State Committee that "there is only one lunatic in his town," but forgets to say that he is not the lunatic. The other Town Clerk is the one from Dartmouth, who says he is "happy to report that there are only two Socialist votes" in his burg.

We shall attend to both in due time.

Fall River, Nov. 9—The returns for this city were given wrong. We had 264 votes, not 149, as reported. We increased 123 votes.

Michigan.

Detroit, Nov. 8—Our vote in this city was: For Mayor, Chas. Erb, 561, an increase of 224 over last fall in the whole county. The "American Party" polled 82 votes; the Silver Party, 243. In the Thirteenth ward, where last spring we had 60 votes, we got 131 this year for our Aldermanic candidate. Shall send more details of the violent efforts on the part of the capitalists to wipe us out.

New Jersey.

Newark, Nov. 5.—The below is the vote in Essex County:

Ferdinand W. Williams	917
Daniel J. Duggan	936
Frank W. Wilson	935
Edward L. Klump	935
Jules Magnette	933
Henry Weiss	925
Morris Weber	922
Valentine Desch	924
Charles A. Carlson	926
Alois Kern	921
Adolph Soelbrandt	918

This increase, which gives us for the first time our needed 2 per cent., is very encouraging. It was won after the "soreheads" were put out.

Ridgefield Park, Nov. 7.—In 1895 we had 3 votes; 1896, 13; this year, 26 for the S. L. P.

New York.

Pearl River, Nov. 7.—Last year 6; this year 14 votes for the S. L. P.

Watervliet, Nov. 7.—For Cuno, 49; last year, 30.

Lansingburg, Nov. 7.—For Matchett in 1896, 27; for Cuno now 49.

Batavia, Nov. 7.—In Genesee County the Socialist candidate polls 13, of which 8 in this town. Last year 9 in the whole county.

Ogdensburg, Nov. 7.—For the S. L. P. last fall we got but one vote. For our candidate this year 34 so far, and more coming. In this St. Lawrence County last year 5.

Mount Vernon, Nov. 7.—Cuno, 59; 42 last year.

Blythebourne, Nov. 7.—Matchett got here last year 3 votes; Cuno this year 8.

Portchester, Nov. 8.—For Cuno, 65, an increase to 22.

Cortlandt, Nov. 9.—Cuno, 36; last fall 17.

Ohio.

Cleveland, Nov. 6.—In the city we increase from 900 to 1,562. In the whole county our vote is 1,598.

The significance of this becomes plainer when compared with the Poulist and other such parties. In the county the Populists poll 277, a complete breakdown; the "negro party," 44; the Liberty party, 125.

Canton, O., Nov. 9.—Below I give you a full report of the votes cast for Watkins in Stark County (the home of "Prosperity Bill") in comparison with the vote cast for Matchett in 1896:

	Watkins 1897.	Matchett 1896.
Bethlehem township (Navarre)	19	0
Canton township	12	0
Canton City (Canton)	155	12
Jackson township	13	2
Lawrence township (N. Lawrence)	56	6
Lexington township	3	0
Alliance City	18	0
Osnaburg township (Osnaburg)	9	0
Perry township	17	2
Massilon Cilly (Massillon)	88	16
Pike township	2	0
Plain twonship	9	0
Sugar Creek t'nship	7	0
Tuscarawas township (E. Greenville)	97	15
Total	505	53

The names following townships in parenthesis indicate that there are Sections in those places.

The total vote cast in this county is 21,514, therefore Watkins received 2 1-3 per cent. of the vote. In the Sixth Ward in Canton Matchett got 5 votes; Watkins this year received 50. In E. Greenville the vote was as follows: Reps., 144; Dems., 39; Pros., 3; Pops., 4; Socialists, 66; of these 61 were straight tickets.

It seems the miners are getting their eyes open.

The first thing to be done now is to try and get the various Sections in the county united into a central organization in order to carry on the agitation in a systematic way; therefore we request the organizers of the respective Sections to call a meeting as soon as possible and make propositions for a place and time to hold a county convention, and report to the undersigned at once. Comrades, to work! We smashed all smaller parties; now let the watchword be "Advance" to more victories.

Three cheers for International Socialism.

By order of Section Canton.

JOHN JUERGENS, Organizer.
1106 High st., Canton, O.

East Liverpool, Nov. 9.—(Latest).—Our vote in this Columbrane County is 137, instead of 89, as formerly reported.

Virginia.

Richmond, Nov. 9.—Our vote has leaped upward. From returns so far in we have over 400 votes. Everywhere we increased. Last year our vote in the whole State was 115.

Pennsylvania.

Pottstown, Nov. 6.—This borough of Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pa., polled 37 votes for the S. L. P. State ticket, a gain of 24 votes over the poll of Nov. 1896.

Philadelphia, Nov. 6.—This is only an incomplete table, but it serves to indicate how the wind blows:

Ward.	Thomas.	Barnes.	De Bruyn.	Kuppinger.	Matchett 1896.
1	127	122	117	123	43
2	33	34	32	34	15
3	17	11	13	11	15
4	12	11	10	10	8
5	18	13	11	10	8
6	13	10	7	6	5
7	6	5	11	3	3
8	38	10	7	8	4
9	4				
10	9	9	9	9	5
11	21	21	21	20	14
12	32	32	34	29	37
13	59	62	58	58	27
14	35	33	30	34	
15	30	21	18	19	11
16	38	30	26	28	23
17	38	37	29	32	17
18	35	29	27	29	8
19	151	141	129	108	80
20	75	72	77	74	11
21	34	19	17	16	11
22	68	35	33	35	10
23	11	7	8	4	5
24	80	53	39	49	11
25	76	78	62	65	26
26	45	47	37	39	16
27	33	25	18	29	3
28	74	63	51	52	
29	101	96	78	79	40
30	15	26	13	15	1
31	31	33	21	32	11
32	26	36	16	16	12
33	156	157	156	145	
34	28	19	13	13	5
35	3	2	3	2	2
36	32	32	33	27	13
37	27	25	19	22	7
38	31	32	29	26	
Total	1642	1490	1292	1295	569

Philadelphia, Nov. 9.—(Latest.)—Official returns: Thomas (head of ticket), 1,498; Barnes, 1,506; De Bruyn, 1,321; Kuppinger, 1,356. This means doubling.

Allegheny County, last year, 267; this year, 1,403, official count.

Pittsburg, last year, 106; this, 273.

Allegheny City, last year, 54; this, 168, with 40 wards to hear from.

Wilmerding borough, last year, 1; this, 197, more votes than either Democratic or Republican party.

Jeanette, last year, 31; this, 73.

Westmoreland County, last year, 134; this, 274.

Twenty counties in State out of 67 give us 4,467; the State last year polled 1,683. We expect official count to give us from six to seven thousand votes. Every county thus far reported, except Centre, where we lost 2 votes, shows gain; mostly double.

F. M. GESSNER.

Figart, Cambria County, Nov. 9.—In this precinct we had 32 votes; last year, 5.

Du Bois, Nov. 9.—Last year there were just 3 Socialist votes in this county. This election our candidate for Sheriff received 127 votes, and we are feeling pretty good over the result, for we have but one Section in the county, and it is not three months old yet. Vardy got 67 votes in the First Ward (that is the miners' ward) alone. We propose to go right into the fight for Councilmen in the spring, as our vote gives us a place on the official ballot without the bother of nomination papers.

Vardy, for Sheriff, received 127 votes.

Pringle, for District-Attorney, received 102 votes.

Latchshaw, for Coroner, 121 votes.

Ritson, for Jury Commissioner, 118 votes.

State Ticket:—Barnes, 101 votes; Thomas, 77.

Shamokin, Pa., Nov. 9.—The election is over, our efforts crowned with tremendous gains, and the results of painstaking agitation are clearly shown.

Judging from the quiet and unassuming agitation, the old politicians, etc., calculated upon a small Socialist vote. They asserted that not a sufficient number of votes would be polled to insure the party's existence upon the ballot. But how badly they were misled. The "Socialist Labor party polled a surprisingly large vote for its short existence," were the comments of some of the local papers.

The official returns are as follows:

State Ticket:—Thomas, Treasurer, 336 votes; Barnes, Auditor-General, 348.

County Ticket:—C. R. Levan, Register and Recorder, 392 votes; A. Borovy, Jury Commissioner, 390.

We would no doubt have gained a still larger number of adherents had the elements of nature been more generous to us in the last days of our campaign. Disagreeable weather had prevented us from successfully carrying out some of our meetings.

Three speakers were here before election, viz.: H. Carless, B. F. Keinard and A. F. Kowalski, who have done, considering the climatic vicissitudes, very effective work. Comrade Keinard organized a Section in Mount Carmel, which became a powerful factor on election day.

This being the first time the S. L. P. has appeared upon the ballot in this county, the above returns show a very large vote. But it will give the reader a still more adequate idea of the growth of the party when I state that the S. L. P. has been in existence only one year, and that the first vote cast from here was for the Presidential candidates, etc. In all Northumberland County only 37 votes were cast last November. To-day an average of 366½—a gain of 900 per cent.

Nor is this the end. The agitation will be prosecuted with renewed vigor and carried into the yet untouched portions of the county. And if the next year will produce such gains, which there is every reason to expect, victory will soon be under the way of the Arm and Hammer.

J. F. MEEK, M. D.

"NEW CHRISTIANITY."

The Historic and Economic Absurdity of the Term.

Utopians and Superficial Would-be Leaders Cannot Better Betray their Ignorance of the Social Question, their Unfitness as Educators, and their Worthlessness as Leaders in the Fray than by Claiming for the Socialist Commonwealth the Antiquated Economics of Christianity, and thus Play Cuttle Fish in a Revolution.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 7—Eugene V. Debs, in a speech delivered recently, used the words, "The Social Democracy is a new Christianity," several times.

As the Social Democracy claims to be an organization formed to attain the co-operative commonwealth, or the era of Socialism, which really means an entire change from the present private ownership of the means of production and distribution to the collective ownership of the same, it might be of value to find out wherein a new or old Christianity fits into that change. With Christianity, as a religion, we have nothing to do, but as a system of economics we have the right and duty to criticize it. In the first place, the communism of early Christianity was nothing new at the time of Christ, 1900 years ago. It was but an attempt to revert back to a system that the world had outgrown and discarded.

Some seven hundred years before Christ the Greeks and Latins emerged from barbarism, from communism to individualism; the Hebrews had also emerged from that state some time previous to the Greeks and Latins. No doubt, there were extant at the time of Christ traditions of the past society in which all men were brothers, or relatives by blood; in which all property was owned in common by the various tribes or clans; in which there were no class distinctions, no poor, no rich; and, probably, there were men in Judea and other Roman provinces who had been taken from their own country, where they lived in communism, to become the slaves of the Romans. These traditions would be very prevalent among people who were oppressed and degraded, as were the workers of 1900 years ago; much the same as in Ireland to-day stories of the time where every man was free and the Irish lived in clans, are told. But the Irish workers of to-day could no more bring that system of society back than could the Christians of 1900 years ago. The system of communism under which the early Christians tried to live, was all right when men were known not as citizens of any town or country, but as members of a family in which they held membership by reason of their relationship to the other members; it was all right when men were barbarians and were forced to associate, owing to the crudeness of the tools and implements of production, in order to secure an existence—much the same as were the Indian tribes of this country. But with the gradual perfection of the tool grew up handicrafts making less necessary association in labor. Another cause for the downfall of the system of communism, to which the early Christians looked for their model, was the fact that these early tribal communists found out that it was far better for them to make slaves of the prisoners they captured in their wars with other tribes than it was to kill or eat them. When prisoners of war were made slaves, they could work, and those who captured them could take what the slaves produced, and did not, therefore, need to work. Out of that in part has grown class distinctions—i. e., there came the worker and the boss. From the time that tribal communism went under to the time of Christ, the distinction between slave and master had continued and become more glaring, producing misery and woe, not perhaps as awful as to-day, but still bad enough. So that the early Christians knowing in a dim way that in the past men had lived in freedom without the distinction of slave and master, worker and boss, without knowing anything of the real nature of that to which they wished to revert, were enthusiastic in their attempt to again institute communism. But their attempt was a failure, and so must every attempt to go back to a previous condition of society end in failure.

At the time of Christ the tool was simple and suitable to be used by one person, easily acquired and of but very little value, in no sense the machine of to-day. Such being the case, the ownership of the tool could not make any one inordinately rich; could not lead to the enslavement of the majority of men to its owners as at present. In those days it was necessary to own the man direct—not indirectly, as at present, by owning the machine. A "new Christianity" as an economic system would mean the institution of the old tribal communism with its wars between tribes, its wars between federations of tribes, and last but not least, its old worn-out, costly, and, compared with to-day, non-productive system of producing those things which humanity needs to sustain life—to say nothing of those things necessary to its comfort. Socialism, on the other hand, means the ingitution of that state of society "in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties MULTIPLIED BY ALL THE MODERN FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION."

Seven hundred years before Christ men were isolated in tribes, each tribe the enemy of every other tribe, communication between tribes and peoples was difficult, if not impossible, the ideas of mankind were narrow and confined within the bounds of their own petty existence; to-day tribes have gone, and the nations which have taken their place do not war with each other except commercially. Commerce and trade have taken the place of the old methods of warfare, and all peoples and all parts of the earth are within speaking distance, literally so, and the fact is now recognized that humanity is one in wants and desires, that what is to the interest of China is to the interest of America, and that in all countries those who own the tool with which to work and the land on which to work, own those who must work to live; the further fact is recognized that the land is the common heritage of ALL mankind and that the tools and machinery of to-day are the result of the thought and labor of all humanity working and thinking towards that end, not alone in the present but through the countless ages of the past; therefore this land and machinery of right does and ought to belong to ALL humanity. Recognizing those facts, the Socialist Labor Party of the entire world has been organized and is organizing to secure that state of society in which ALL men can have the free exercise and full benefit of their faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization. The past can show no state of society in which that could be possible, and we cannot attain that end by keeping our thoughts in the past any more than could the man of twenty-one do any good for himself by thinking of what would have happened if he had not been born.

The "Social Democracy," which, according to one Willard, "Like Minerva bursting full-panoplied from the brain of Jove, * * * sprang from the brain of Eugene V. Debs," says that it wants the co-operative commonwealth. If that is what it is after, why does its leader, "whose brain gave it birth," want to go back—or imply that he does—to a state of society that was dead 700 years before Christ's time, and is now harder to resurrect than ever, because it has resting upon it not alone seven hundred years of death but an added 1900 years of decay? If Mr. Debs wants, and is striving for the co-operative commonwealth in which the means of production, transportation and distribution shall be the collective property of the people, he should seek it not in a grave 2,600 years old but rather look for it to be born out of the labor and travail of the present. If he is looking for economic freedom he cannot find it in the past, neither can he get through "regenerated Christianities." Let him look ahead, not back; in the past lie strife, confusion, woe and death; in the future must lie peace, order, happiness and life.

ARTHUR KEEP.

SUPPRESSING NEWS.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Nov. 8—"Brophy received 102 votes in North Adams, against 41 last year, and 105 at Adams, against 94. If the newspapers had looked for such growth in the Socialist Labor vote it would have been collected throughout the State. Brophy probably beats Bascom by considerable. His total vote last year was 4,548 to 4,472 for Coffin, prohibition candidate for Governor."—Springfield (Mass.) "Republican."

As newspapers go, the "Republican," in many respects, is one of the best newspapers in the country; but by its failure to print the news relating to the election it was a great sinner. While almost all the dailies outside of Boston gave the number of Socialist votes cast in their own and adjoining cities and towns, the "Republican," though it printed just 22½ columns of news Wednesday morning relating to the election, did not give the vote cast for the Socialist candidates in a single city or town in the State, not even in its own beautiful Springfield, nor in Holyoke or West Springfield, which are but a short ride on the surface cars.

It has not even the excuse of the Boston papers, that the Socialist vote was not collected in that city. The Boston "Globe" the next morning gave the vote cast for the S. L. P. and the four other candidates for Governor as well as for 26 other cities in the State. The vote for the Socialist Party in Springfield and Holyoke was as well known in the office of the "Republican" the night of the election as it is to-day, and an examination of that paper of Wednesday morning fills one with wonder and surprise at the thoroughness of its organization in keeping out of its columns a single record of a Socialist vote—a feat not accomplished by any other daily paper in the State.

The Associated Press, Wednesday night, sent the Socialist vote in 30 cities of the State, saying that the vote had increased in those places to 3,483, against 1,906 in 1896. This was printed in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and even in some of the New York dailies, and, though it went to the "Republican" office, nary a word appeared in the "Republican," nor has it up to the present time given the vote of Springfield, which was 197, against 96 last year.

The size of the vote of a political party does not make the election news interesting. Had our vote fallen off one-half it would have been considered very interesting news by the "Republican" and printed as important.

We are but one of five minority parties. The five candidates combined polled less than one-half of the votes of those who could vote if they wished. The action of the newspapers in regard to election news proves what those who have eyes to see have long known—that the NEWS IS SUPPRESSED. In this line the "Republican" last Wednesday took the bun—so far as this State goes.

X RAY.

A REFORMER

And His Applauders Betray Themselves.

Silas C. Swallow of Pennsylvania, who is Being Lionized As an Anti-Boss Paladin for his Anti-Quay Campaign Issues a Pronunciamento In Which, by Ignoring the Hazleton Massacre, he and "Reform" Indicate that that is Nothing to Reform—"Reform" Means to Make More Convenient and Cheaper the Methods of Plundering.

An eccentric gentleman of the State of Pennsylvania, named Silas C. Swallow, polled about 100,000 votes against Mat. Quay's candidate in the late election. This Swallow is now receiving unstinted praise from the "anti-boss" capitalist press for the "anti-boss" campaign that he conducted. The praises of the latter and the declarations of the former should help to enlighten the public upon the aims, objects, aspirations and principles of the "anti-boss" brigade in the land.

In the course of the campaign, anti-boss candidate Swallow issued a proclamation stating the wrongs that should be redressed. Mr. Swallow was campaigning at a time when the tears of the widowed and orphaned by Sheriff Martin's murder were still flowing; the graves of the victims had not yet fairly closed; the wounds of those workingmen who struck for the enforcement of the miners' laws and escaped death at Sheriff Martin's hands were not yet healed. Nay, worse. The murderers were still at large—at large not because warrants had not yet been secured for their arrest, nor yet because they had made their escape. They were at large because between them and the warrants of arrest the military force of the State had been thrown by the Governor. They were at large because the government of Pennsylvania had rushed to their assistance. Surely, here was a wrong to complain about—a wrong crying for redress, all the more seeing that it was not an isolated case, but only the most recent of numerous ones that had dyed red the soil of Pennsylvania. Did the reformer Silas C. Swallow have a word of reproof for that? No, he did not even allude to it. Here is what he said:

"Among the important things to be done is to bring to justice the State thieves who have gotten away with large quantities of the public money. The fight is but just fairly begun. We must strike for a more honest administration of municipal and county business all over the State, for on my journeyings I learned from men who have opportunities for knowing that in many cities and counties, yes, and in boroughs and even townships, as much corruption in handling public funds exists in proportion to the amount, as in State affairs."

No wonder the anti-boss reformers are enthusiastic over Silas C. Swallow. No wonder they acclaim him as a bright particular star in the firmament of "Reform."

To draw attention from a real wrong, and seek to fasten it upon a minor one, ever is the trick of political sharpers.

The wrong that alone bespeaks the attention of the decent and intelligent people of the country is the wrong that is done to the working class; and that wrong is the root of all others. But to redress that wrong means to overthrow the present system of production; it means to disable the "anti-boss" reformers from plundering the toilers; it means to compel them to work if they want to live, or die if they want to loaf. It means the establishment of a social order where wealth shall be the reward as well as the fruit of labor, instead of as to-day, its being the fruit of labor but the reward of idleness. It means the severe chastisement of the class that to-day lives on plunder and murder, and the breaking of the chains that hold the workers as cattle in the shambles of capitalism.

To redress such a wrong is not on the programme of any "reformer," be he of the "anti-boss" or any other variety. Theirs is the work of "reforming" in such manner that the wrong they live by and on, shall be confirmed.

Quay may be just as bad; but his capitalist reformers are no better. The present office-holders in Pennsylvania are no doubt perpetrators of theft on a large scale; but their reformers, together with themselves, are all the beneficiaries of that infinitely more vicious system of theft, the capitalist system, that consists in plundering the workers of the bulk of their products.

The cry of the hour is the Social Revolution that shall dethrone not the Quays, Crokers, etc., but Capitalism itself. Let Mr. Swallow not go by unperceived. He has taught a useful lesson—the lesson of the worthlessness and insincerity of "Reform" and "Reformers."

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

M. D. F., Lynn.—It is needless to forward the card. The report you speak of is false.

S. H., New York.—If the name of the writer of the article giving the facts of the Hinton "purchase" of Tennessee lands could be had for the asking, it would have been printed along with the article. For good reasons the name is withheld for the present. Nor does the absence of a name impair an article of that nature. When an article is purely argumentative, or contains secret information, the name of the writer may be essential. With the article in question it is otherwise. It states facts that are easily verified, and its conclusions are self-evident from those facts.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	**36,564**

The bourgeoisie has every reason to fear the stupidity of the masses—so long as they remain conservative, and their intelligence—so soon as they become revolutionary.

Karl Marx.

IMPALED ON THE HORNS OF THE SOCIAL DILEMMA.

This week's quotation at the head of this column is taken for other reasons besides its own excellence. It is taken especially because of the light it throws upon last week's elections, particularly in this city, and because of the light these elections throw upon it. It is considered all the more useful, and therefore taken, because it will be found in the last chapter of Marx' "Eighteenth of Brumaire," that appears in this very issue, and, accordingly, will be found in the full surrounding of the context that adds clearness to it.

That the bourgeoisie, the ruling portion of the capitalist class, has every reason to fear the stupidity of the masses so long as these remain conservative, and their intelligence so soon as they become revolutionary, is the conclusion Marx draws from the pickle in which the French bourgeoisie found itself when the third Napoleon bayonetted them into subjection to his piratical power. The force back of Napoleon was the ignorance of the masses, especially the small farmer class, that constituted the large majority. The policy that the bourgeoisie had followed towards this class kept it in such dense ignorance, the victim of such dense social-economic superstitions, riveting it to the existing order, that, differently from what the bourgeoisie had calculated upon, that mass became a weapon unavailable to bourgeois rule, and available only to the adventurer who used it to plunder the bourgeoisie with; while, on the other hand, had the bourgeoisie pursued a more liberal course towards the small farmer class, had it allowed the budding aspirations of that class to develop instead of crushing them, the developed intelligence of the mass of the French people would have pushed it on to a revolution that would have ended the rule of capitalism. The French bourgeois was impaled on the horns of the social dilemma.

If we look at the election in the Greater New York as typical of the elections elsewhere this year, we find similar conditions here.

Municipal "reform," "self-government," together with the whole string of similar political slogans, went for nothing. The poverty of the masses increases, as increase it must under the capitalist system. What is the attitude of our bourgeoisie in sight of this phenomenon? Is it to spread intelligence? Just the reverse. It is busy riveting social-economic superstitions upon the masses; straining every nerve to keep the masses in densest ignorance by keeping from them, to the best of the ability of its strumpet press, all information that might enlighten them; and it does so with the end in view of perpetuating its own rule of robbery; with these ignorant masses as the tool—just as the French bourgeoisie. But, just as with the French bourgeoisie, ours is being hoisted by its own petard.

The free coinage of silver at the "ratio of our daddies" was last year the ignorant cry of an ignorant mass, goaded by misery. The success of such a movement means social cataclysm, because it denies the fundamental props of the social system that it would uphold. Last year the Bryan vote was phenomenal enough to cause a chill to run down the spine of our bourgeoisie. The increasingly painful goad of misery has everywhere lowered and in many places wiped out the bourgeois majorities of last year; and here in New York, the trend of things was emphasized by the masses going over to discredited Tammany. Let this ball roll onward on its track, and the stupidity of the masses will repeat in America the scenes of the French "coup d'état."

Our bourgeoisie realizes this strongly. But what is it to do? The French bourgeoisie instinctively recoiled before the enlightenment of the masses; in 1851, there was not yet that organized, intelligent, and, therefore, revolutionary, movement of Socialism that there is to-day. Now the bourgeoisie everywhere has a pretty distinct conception of the fate in store for its class, and carried in the womb of the organized Socialist movement. The Socialist Labor parties of all capitalist nations speak in no indistinct words. Simultaneous with the victory of Dick Croker, the Tammany Hall plug-ugly, not long since a leader of "dead rabbits," and whose qualifications for such eminently fit him for the rôle of the American Chief of the American "Society of December 10"—simultaneous therewith comes the news of an increased Socialist vote throughout the land, with evidences, in more than one place, of a speedy Socialist victory.

The position of our American bourgeois is critical. Cultivate further ignorance and above the horizon loom the Dick Crokers; aid enlightenment, and the falchion of the Socialist proletariat wheezes through the air. Disaster from both sides for the bourgeois.

Let the American bourgeoisie with its Tracys, its Lows, and its stool pigeon Georges squirm. To the Socialist the sight is edifying. Different in our country now from France in 1851, the intelligent and revolutionary movement has ripened so far that, in the race between Ignorance and Intelligence, that is now being run, Intelligence will outstrip Ignorance. If a crash must come, it will not find the country unprepared as was France in 1851: a body of men, numerous, intelligent, aggressive, determined, is rapidly organizing; already it is a power for good; in but few years, come what come may, that body will be found square across the path of any ignorant mob, and will save civilization.

Socialists, to work! Educate, enlighten, organize!

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

At sight of the growth of the Socialist Labor Party's vote everywhere, and notably right under its own nose, in Massachusetts, the Boston "Herald" seeks to explain the fact with the theory that

"There's no accounting for the gain in the Socialist Labor vote, unless it is due to popular appreciation of the humor of Socialist Labor Candidate Brophy's remark, made during the campaign, that the two leading parties were links of the sausage made from the same capitalist dog."

The "appreciation" of Comrade Brophy's remark is certain; certain also is the fact that his remarks will receive increased appreciation from year to year. The working people will not be everlastingly fooled. They are bound to realize that nothing, that the capitalist parties offer or can offer, can touch the real issue; that that issue is the issue of the working class vs. the capitalist class; and that can't be settled except by the conquest of the public powers by the proletariat, the overthrow of the capitalist dog, and the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth.

The following interesting and instructive story is told by the San Francisco (Cal.) "New Charter":

"The other day a friend introduced a man to us, and recommended him as 'a good Socialist.' 'Yes,' said the man with fervor, 'I have been a Socialist for twenty years; and there are lots of us now;' and we beamed upon the old-timer. 'By the way,' said he, 'did you see the platform of Tammany Hall in New York?' We had seen it. 'Isn't it wonderful,' said he, 'that Tammany should declare for municipal ownership and control?' We conceded that it was wonderful that Tammany should declare for anything good. 'If I were in New York,' said our new acquaintance, 'I SHOULD VOTE FOR TAMMANY, AND EVERY SOCIALIST SHOULD DO THE SAME.' And then we thought there are 'Socialists' and 'Socialists.' Somebody said a long time ago, 'I would ye were either hot or cold, for if ye are lukewarm I will spew ye out of my mouth.' We prefer a straight-out capitalist to a Tammany 'Socialist.' People should remember that the devil does not become a saint by singing the song of the elect, nor does capitalism become the friend of the people by incorporating a few Socialistic sounding ideas into its platform."

The New York "Evening Post," anti-Platt capitalist, in commenting on the elections, says:

"The increditable falling off of the party (Republican) vote from a plurality in the State of 268,000 to a Democratic majority for Parker of about 58,000 is an absolute condemnation of one-man power."

An uninformed man would conclude that this Parker, who headed the Democratic ticket in the State, was the nominee of some anti-one-man power. Yet whose nominee and candidate was he? Tammany's! In other words, according to the imbecile "Evening Post," the people showed their hatred of one-man power by doing what they have been doing all along, flopping from one one-man power to another—they beat Platt by making Croker triumph!

How these capitalist luminaries shut their eyes to the facts, and how stupid they prove themselves in their reasoning!

For intellectual bankruptcy, give us a capitalist editor.

Another instance of capitalist bankruptcy of intellectual powers is furnished by the New York "Sun," pro-Platt capitalist. It explains the defeat of the Republican candidate this wise:

"Obviously the only way of beating the hordes of Bryanism was to keep together the social and political elements which last year stood solidly for McKinley; they split apart."

The human race has for generations been laughing over the medical wiseacre who imputed the death of his patient to lack of breath. The "Sun" seems to be a lineal descendant from that lump of wisdom. "Obviously," no doubt, "if those who win at one election hold together and don't split apart" they will win again. The question is, How were those "social and political elements" to be held together if the promises that pulled them together proved false, and harder times fell upon them?

There is a good deal of "splitting apart" in store for all the camps of capitalism. In short order Croker will one of these days be echoing the bray of the "Sun" and declaring that "obviously, if the social and political elements, that gave him this year a large majority, had held together and not split apart, he could have won again."

This "splitting apart" is the disease that is gnawing at the vitals of the robber class political parties—with the Socialist Labor Party gathering the defections, organizing them in a solid body, utilizing their "experience" with the political swindlers who thitherto cheated them, and one day hurling the solid mass upon the existing social system with the result of smashing at the ballot box all those parties and along with them their iniquitous system of bri[g]andage, misnamed "Social Order."

The Johnston (R. I.) "Beacon" is not hypnotized by either "prosperity" or "Americanism;" it justly observes:

"The American press very considerately lays the rebellious state of the natives in India to religious fanaticism, stirred up by unscrupulous agitators. Of course, nothing is said about the oppressions inflicted upon the people of India by greedy capitalists bent upon acquiring a fortune by others' toil. That would be telling the truth and perhaps pointing a moral at home, which of course would not do at all. Yet if the truth were told, the fortunes wrung from the people of India by the English government and by private capitalists would not hold a candle beside the immense wealth yearly ground out of the bone and sinew of American workingmen. Still those half barbaric Hindoos are rebelling against their oppressors, while intelligent American sovereigns, otherwise wage slaves, are chasing a will o' the wisp called 'prosperity.'"

This is the way the Brooklyn (N. Y.) "Eagle," another of the "rifle-diet-to-the-workers" upholders of "Americanism," comments upon the re-election of Judge Bartlett, whom readers of THE PEOPLE are acquainted with for his glaring violations of law on the Bench in favor of the capitalist oppressors and against the working class:

"By Judge Bartlett's re-election, the high standard for the judiciary, which formerly distinguished this great department, has been reasserted and restored. His success is a matter for uncommon congratulation and for renewed and grateful confidence in suffrage as a fountain of choice and a factor of discrimination in the constitution of judicial government."

But the "Eagle's" gladness will be eventually turned into mourning. Before the expiration of the term of office of this judicial reprobate, the Legislature of this State will be in the hands of the class-conscious working class of the State, and then, woe to the Bartletts and their ilk. The day of reckoning, when impeachments will rain on the heads of these judicial lackeys of the gourgeoisie, will then have come, and that crew will be hurled from the high seats they now desecrate, branded on their foreheads with the brand they deserve.

Will the New York "Voice," prohibitionist, kindly enlighten some inquirers who are asking us a question we can't answer?

In our last issue, the swindle was exposed which the Debs so-called "Social Democracy" colonization scheme contemplated practising upon the working people with the aid of a certain East Tennessee Land Company.

The question that has been asked us since is the following:

"Is this precious East Tennessee Land Company one of the land speculation schemes set on foot in Tennessee by leading prohibitionist land sharks?"

We don't know. But it would not be an unlikely thing. Indeed, the sight would be grandiose of the "Social Democracy" colonization speculators on the poverty of the people "operating" harmoniously hand in hand with Prohibitionists; nor would the sight be uninstructive, presented by these two elements, the former of whom is not noted for its devotion to drinking water, and the latter of whom is, sinking their differences on this point to accomplish their common aim of fleecing the workers.

S. L. P. Sections take Notice.

The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrowes, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THe LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, N. Y.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

POST ELECTORAL RUMINATIONS.

By PETER E. BURROWES.

When you were asked to vote as a gentleman and against boss rule, why didn't you vote for Mister Low? Because I thought that man to be the most dangerous for office who is non-committal, and that the true remedy for bossism is the total abolition of personal candidacy in favor of platform elections alone. The Socialists said little about their men and all about their platform, so I voted for "Platt"—with a "form" at the end of it.

* * *

The supreme vanity of him who seeks to become my master without contract or obligation unfits him for rule in a democratic community. No rational man should bestow his suffrage upon an individual member of a dangerous mad-dog class, however respectable, on his own mere personal assurance, that he will not bite. Put on the platform muzzle first, and vote AFTER you are safe, but not before.

* * *

When they talked to you about straight Democratic and straight Republican tickets, why did you smile? Well, I said: "Gentlemen, I see nothing straight about you but the quills on your backs—anti-Tammany, anti-Platt quills; but for what? If I take your quills out, how much of you is left? Can you sit on a hot stove, gentlemen? Neither can you stand on a straight issue—it would roast you." "Straight" has only one letter in common with "crooked," yet standing before the word Democrat or Republican it spells always CROOKED.

* * *

When gold buggism put on again, after a period of desertion, the paint and feathers of Democracy, why did the Democrats condone the treason? Because Tammany and their pretended rivals in the old parties are familiar with treason—are in it in fact as a business all the year round. Would the S. L. P. receive traitors with open arms in the hour of battle? No. For defeat without is more secure than victory with them. No traitor should ever live politically to enjoy the fruits of a second treason.

* * *

It is charitable to say nothing but what is good concerning the dead. But it is more charitable to do what is good in the concerns of the living. When, therefore, they asked you why, if you objected to Low as a prig of capitalism, did you not vote for George, what did you say? Because I thought the departed candidate a Seth Low in course of construction. He may not have spent his boyhood in that prig's incubator, known as Columbia Heights. But then, well, that was not his fault. But how and why the departed came to the misfortune of being respected by the crowd now cackling for his monument is something that no fellow (not even I) can understand.

* * *

But as to Gleason. Oh my! If any candidate ever comes PAT-ting me on the back, who does not know anything and does know everybody, who shakes hands with everybody's wife and kisses everybody's baby, I shall make the following inquiries before voting for him:

"Is this a man whose political reputation was built on one of Austin Corbin's fallen fences?" If so, I will say that politicians on the fence can be had a-plenty for any old job.

If I see a man going around with a life-long axe, seeking to grind it on everything, I shall give him a dollar grindstone and send him home.

* * *

If by the fortuitous concourse of political atoms a notorious corporation lobbyist, trust hob-nobbyist, and experienced political jobbiest should be wantonly spat up out of the old maw of Platt I won't run over myself to vote for him. Such a one is like the sea serpent. Now you see him and now you don't. And now nobody knows whether anybody ever saw him or not. Like the sea serpent, he also undulates and is fishy.

* * *

A party boss is always better than a boss without a party. But at the same time, when any body of men contracts the habit of dinning into your ears the word organization with a big capital THE before it, you may begin to inquire with profit, how much, and what principles are thus capitalized; also, how much boodle, and what men? A man is very likely you see to call for your appreciative approval of a great painter's skill when that artist's work happens to be a flattering portrait of ME.

* * *

In choosing future candidates select not, I beseech you, either an angel or a devil. Let him not come from the priggeries or the piggeries of your city. Neither white wings, nor black legs; neither bleached-out Goo Goos, nor Tammany Yahoos; neither race-track, nor railroad-track gambler; neither old Albany soakers, nor Wall street brokers. There are still a few clean men left in the city. But why should you waste oil looking for them in the Union League Club or Tammany Hall. If you want parasites only, why, then the banks, the trust offices and the clubs are the places to fish for your candidates.

* * *

If anybody should henceforth say to you: "Come into the ark of pro-hi-bi." Tell him to hie by. Remember the deluge. How an old man and his family went under the Raines law for forty days, how terribly cooped up they were in that old hulk, and how the whole experience of that forty days on water drove the old man to drink. Remember that the Hi-bis have generally more water on their brains than on their boards, and, in general, "Beware of all sorts of watered stock!"

* * *

When you went into politics to stay, why did you monkey with the saloon? Because I forgot that a little virtue, even when it is genuine, is a dangerous thing, and that more of it is more dangerous. And to be wholly and utterly virtuous is to be in the company of that venerable nigger known to our childhood as Uncle Ned, who so many years back went where the good niggers go, and who has been so recently joined by his worthy friend and admirer Mr. Low.

"So hang up the fiddle and the bow,
Lay by the shovel and the hoe," etc.

* * *

When they said, "Well, Gleason is no prig," why, I said, "Neither is J. L. Sullivan." But you see, we must draw a line somewhere. We have too much of this sort of timber for the tail end of society without working it in to the head, which, according to an old prejudice, should be reserved for brains.

MIDDLE CLASS INTELLECTUAL BANKRUPTCY.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Nov. 8.—The following report of a meeting of the Greenwood Club, which took place Friday evening, Oct. 29, may serve to throw still more light on the mixed-up condition in which the ideas of the middle class have been churned by the growth of capitalism on the one hand, and the evident growth of a feeling among the proletariat that the present system must be swept out of existence.

The Greenwood Club takes its name from Professor Greenwood, for a good many years Superintendent of the Kansas City Public Schools, and is an organization formed by the school teachers to debate different questions. The meeting under discussion was addressed by a lot of middle class lawyers, doctors and "business men," so that the arguments and conclusions there given out are a fair sample of what the rank and file of that class in Kansas City hold.

The paper of the evening, which was the signal for the chaotic discussion that followed, was entitled: "Popular Government on Trial."

The title itself serves to illustrate the indistinct, mixed condition of middle class ideas. As one speaker afterwards had the sense to state, there was no kind of government that had ever existed but had been at one time a popular government, whether absolute despotism, aristocracy, limited monarchy or republic, and it only remained for it to become unpopular to be done away with.

To start out with the paper, a Socialist would have thought at first, here is a good strong Socialist speech, with a lot of stirring references to the Declaration of Independence and the principles there enunciated of "all men being created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and that these principles were marching on to conquer the whole world. But after lauding them to the skies and making a regular American Spread Eagle speech, the speaker, when he came to make an application of the principle, cautions us that the only equality the Declaration refers to is "equality before the law," whatever that will-o'-the-wisp may be. A political equality, but not at an industrial equality; and then to make the statement that we have no privileged classes when every daily paper we pick up has something about the coal baron, the oil king, the railroad magnate, and so on, clear down the list. But directly the speaker awakes in middle class frenzy of indignation against the encroachments and growth of the corporations and trusts that are growing with such startling rapidity. But after fulminating a few minutes against these monsters without souls that are stalking abroad in the land endangering our rights and liberties, the lion begins to bleat like the lamb, and meekly concludes that we could not do without them if we would. I suppose he thinks a little middle class mouthings from a few middle class lawyers will scare the trusts, so they will quit their nefarious designs and walk in the path the middle class would have them, whatever that may be, which is not stated. Then of course we must be warned of the terrible dangers that menace us from "Socialism, Populism and Anarchism." Though what the three things are the speaker failed to state, but seemed to give the idea by his coupling them together that they are different degrees of the same thing. Then came an extended tirade against the political boss, and the speaker told us gravely he hoped to see the day soon when that vermin shall be put in his right place behind prison bars. But the speaker failed to show the intimate connection between the political boss and the industrial boss, the great capitalist, and that if all these damnable facts could be brought up against the political boss, then the principal must merit the punishment meted out to his agent, only more severe. The speaker showed by this little slip either his ignorance or his knavery, for the political boss is now being discredited by the industrial boss so as to save the corruption fund given to the political boss for himself. The speaker thus showed he was ignorantly making himself the mouthpiece of the industrial boss or was simply an agent of the capitalist class to do their bidding. Under which category the speaker belongs I leave the readers of THE PEOPLE to judge. I give it up. However, there is evidently some being who is more dangerous to our glorious (?) institutions than the political boss, that is, according to the speaker, "the educated political theorist," whatever that thing may be. He is the one who would try and get tthe people to search for utopias, and strive to obliterate "natural inequalities" (?) I suppose his opposite, the uneducated "what is it?" must be the kind of a genus homo we must follow. Against the educated political theorist the gentleman is at a loss how to proceed. He hardly dares to advise the penitentiary in this case, as he seems to not quite have the nerve to propose that striving for utopias and to "obliterate natural inequalities" shall be made States prison offences. But finally we were told by him that the only thing we can do against this momentous danger is to appeal tto the "conservative instincts of the producing masses." Which last seems to mean translated "Keep the people in slavery by working all you can on their prejudices, foster all their errors, especially if they have been held a long time." Verily at this day in the world's history, if these spokesmen of the middle class carry out their plan with any measure of success, they may well have reason to fear, as the next speaker stated, "Gentlemen, there is an under-current going on in society which, if we do not take care, will sweep all of us off the face of the earth."

After deluding and deceiving the proletariat by any and every means in their power, even then the middle class fear they may meet the fate of all false prophets in the world's history.

The following speakers added still worse to the jumble of middle class logic (?) One of them was quite a consistent Anarchist, though they all condemned Anarchists. He could not see any good in government at all. Any government was a bad thing—the less you could have of it the better. The speaker was a great admirer of Spencer, and brought up the bugaboo of the "coming slavery" if the ideas that Bellamy and the Socialists should have were put in practice. This speaker had the sense to admit that he feared their victory was inevitable.

Another speaker differed on the government racket. He thought governments were a good thing; the great use they served was to train the individual and give him a chance to develop (?) though what kind of development they gave, and whether it was all the right kind or not, he failed to state. He did not make any remarks as to whether it might not be the most of us were developing in the wrong direction, and it might be a good thing to inaugurate a government that would help us to develop in the right direction. Still more jumble of middle class ideas, you see.

However, we were given a blast that had an honest ring in it from a local doctor, who is also a would-be capitalist, I believe. He has traveled widely, and does not mince matters. "The Declaration of Independence is a lot of flap-doodle and humbug." No men were ever born free and equal, and never would be. Talk about a government of the people, etc.; the less we have of it the better. The truth is brains have always ruled this world, and always will, and to cap the climax of honest contempt for the 'dear people' it is right and proper that mind should rule over matter, thus not allowing the great American voting king the possession of any mind at all, but only matter, which we who have minds rule over. Suffrage should be restricted; no man without a good education should vote, and not then unless he had at least $500 worth of property, etc."

The readers of THE PEOPLE must be sick and tired of all this hodge-podge, but it serves to show to my mind the perfect impotency of the fast disappearing middle class to do anything to benefit the great proletariat. Truly we have less to hope from them than from the real enemy, the great capitalists. Truly it remains with the proletariat to emancipate both the middle and capitalist class from the "coming slavery" of private property, and endow all mankind with those principles so clearly stated in the much misunderstood Declaration of Independence, the EQUAL right of ALL MEN to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

A WAGE-WORKER.

Uncle Sam—This capitalist inequality—

Brother Jonathan—A truce with your utopian notion of abolishing inequalities.

U. S.—You call that utopian?

B. J.—Yes, everything is utopian that is unnatural.

U. S.—Say, it is.

B. J.—And so is the idea of equality. One man is stout and one man is lean, one is tall and one is thin, one is clever and one is foolish. Inequalities have existed, inequalities exist, inequalities will ever exist. It is natural, hence it is foolish to want equality.

U. S.—How many pounds do you weigh?

B. J.—350.

U. S.—And I weigh only 155; we are unequal, ain't we?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Is that a reason for you to have 2½ votes more than I?

B. J.'s jaw drops.

U. S.—Are our laws utopian because they give each of us one vote, although you weigh more than twice my weight?

B. J. continues to look knocked out.

U. S.—And that is all there is of "utopianism" in Socialism. The natural inequalities in man are no reason for the subjugation of one by the other. Our system of voting establishes that. If two men run a race and the swiftest wins, that is no reason why the other should be burned with hot irons. That is what capitalism does. Our theory of the suffrage deprives it of all arguments. It is established that he who does not own the tools of production is "burnt with hot irons" by him who does. The "utopianism" of Socialism consists in giving both the same economic chance that they have politically. They did not always have political equality; this had to be wrenched from the political tyrant. So now will economic inequality have to be wrenched from the economic tyrant. The same class of people who opposed universal suffrage now oppose the universal right to life—and with the same arguments.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

By KARL MARX.

[Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

VII.

The SOCIAL REPUBLIC appeared as a mere phrase, as a prophecy on the threshold of the February Revolution; it was smothered in the blood of the Parisian proletariat during the days of 1848; but it stalks about as a spectre throughout the following acts of the drama. The DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC next makes its bow; it goes out in a fizzle on June 13, 1849, with its runaway small traders; but, on fleeing, it scatters behind it all the more bragging announcements of what it means to do. The PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC, together with the bourgeoisie, then appropriates the whole stage; it lived its life to the full extent of its being; but the 2d of December, 1851, buries it under the terror-stricken cry of the coalized royalists: "Long live the Republic!"

The French bourgeoisie reared up against the reign of the working proletariat;—it brought to power the slum-proletariat, with the chief of the "Society of December 10" at its head. It kept France in breathless fear over the prospective terror of "red anarchy;"—Bonaparte discounted the prospect when, on December 4, he had the leading citizens of the Boulevard Montmartre and the Boulevard des Italiens shot down from their windows by the grog-inspired "Army of Order." It made the apotheosis of the sabre;—now the sabre rules it. It destroyed the revolutionary press;—now its own press is annihilated. It placed public meetings under police surveillance;—now its own salons are subject to police inspection. It dissolved the democratic National Guards;—now its own National Guard is dissolved. It instituted the state of siege;—now itself is made subject thereto. It supplanted the jury by military commissions;—now military commissions supplant its own juries. It subjected the education of the people to the parsons' interests;—the parsons' interests now subject it to their own system. It ordered transportations without trial;—now itself is transported without trial. It suppressed every movement of society with physical force;—now every movement of its own class is suppressed by physical force. Out of enthusiasm for the gold bag, it rebelled against its own political leaders and writers;—now, its political leaders and writers are set aside, but the gold bag is plundered, after the mouth of the bourgeoisie has been gagged and its pen broken. The bourgeoisie tirelessly shouted to the revolution, in the language of St. Orsenius to the Christians: "Fuge, Tace, Quiesce!"—flee, be silent, submit!—; Bonaparte shouts to the bourgeoisie: "Fuge, Tace, Quiesce!"—flee, be silent, submit!

The French bourgeoisie had long since solved Napoleon's dilemma: "Dans cinquante ans l'Europe sera républicaine ou cosaque."* It found the solution in the "république cosaque."† No Circe distorted with wicked charms the work of art of the bourgeois republic into a monstrosity. That republic lost nothing but the appearance of decency. The France of to-day was ready-made within the womb of the Parliamentary republic. All that was wanted was a bayonet thrust, in order that the bubble burst, and the monster leap forth to sight.

Why did not the Parisian proletariat rise after the 2d of December?

The downfall of the bourgeoisie was as yet merely decreed; the decree was not yet executed. Any uprising of the proletariat would have fortwith revived this bourgeoisie, would have brought on its reconciliation with the army, and would have insured a second June rout to the workingmen. On the evening of that day, several legions of the National Guard promised to appear armed and uniformed on the place of battle. This arose from the circumstance that Mr. Bourgeois and Mr. Small-Trader had got wind that, in one of his decrees of December 2, Bonaparte abolished the secret ballot, and ordered them to enter the words "Yes" or "No" after their names in the official register. Bonaparte took alarm at the stand taken on December 4. During the night he caused placards to be posted on all the street corners of Paris, announcing the restoration of the secret ballot. Mr. Bourgeois and Mr. Small-Trader believed they had gained their point. The absentees, the next morning, were Messieurs Bourgeois and Small-Trader.

During the night of December 1 and 2, the Parisian proletariat was robbed of its leaders and chiefs of barricades by a raid of Bonaparte's. An army without officers, disinclined by the recollections of June, 1848, and May, 1850, to fight under the banner of the Montagnards, it left to its vanguard, the secret societies, the work of saving the insurrectionary honor of Paris, which the bourgeoisie had yielded to the soldiery so submissively that Bonaparte was later justified in disarming the National Guard upon the scornful ground that he feared their arms would be used against themselves by the Anarchists!

"C'est le triomphe complet et definitif du Socialism!"‡ Thus did Guizot characterize the 2d of December. But, although the downfall of the parliamentary republic carries with it the germ of the triumph of the proletarian revolution, its immediate and tangible result was the triumph of Bonaparte over the parliament, of the Executive over the Legislative power, of force without phrases over the force of phrases. In the parliament, the nation raised its collective will to the dignity of law, i. e., it raised the law of the ruling class to the dignity of its collective will. Before the Executive power, the nation abdicates all will of its own, and submits to the orders of an outsider, of Authority. In contrast with the Legislative, the Executive power expresses the heteronomy of the nation in contrast with its autonomy. Accordingly, France seems to have escaped the despotism of a class only in order to fall under the despotism of an individual, under the authority, at that, of an individual without authority. The struggle seems to settle down to the point where all classes drop down on their knees, equally impotent and equally dumb.

All the same, the revolution is thoroughgoing. It still is on its passage through purgatory. Down to December 2, 1851, it had fulfilled one-half of its programme: it now fulfills the other half. It first ripens the power of the Legislature into fullest maturity in order to be able to overthrow it. Now that it has accomplished that, the revolution proceeds to ripen the power of the Executive into equal maturity; reduces this power to its purest expression; isolates it; places it before itself as the sole subject for reproof in order to concentrate against it all the revolutionary forces of destruction. When the revolution shall have accomplished this second part of its preliminary programme, Europe will jump up from her seat to exclaim: "Well hast thou grubbed, old mole!"

This Executive power, with its tremendous bureaucratic and military organization; with its wide-spreading and artificial machinery of government—an army of office-holders, half a million strong, together with a military force of another million men—; this fearful body of parasites, that coils itself like a snake around French society, stopping all its pores, originated at the time of the absolute monarchy, along with the decline of feudalism, which it helped to hasten. The princely privileges of the landed proprietors and cities were transformed into so many attributes of the Executive power; the feudal dignitaries into paid office-holders; and the confusing design of conflicting medieval seigniories, into the well regulated plan of a government, whose work is subdivided and centralized as in the factory. The first French revolution, having as a mission to sweep away all local, territorial, urban and provincial special privileges, with the object of establishing the civic unity of the nation, was bound to develop what the absolute monarchy had begun—the work of centralization, together with the range, the attributes and the menials of government. Napoleon completed this governmental machinery. The Legitimist and the July Monarchy contribute nothing thereto, except a greater subdivision of labor, that grew in the same measure as the division and subdivision of labor within bourgeois society raised new groups and interests, i. e., new material for the administration of government. Each COMMON interest was in turn forthwith removed from society, set up against it as a higher COLLECTIVE interest, wrested from the individual activity of the members of society, and turned into a subject for governmental administration,—from the bridges, the school house and the communal property of a village community, up to the railroads, the national wealth and the national University of France. Finally, the parliamentary republic found itself, in its struggle against the revolution, compelled, with its repressive measures, to strengthen the means and the centralization of the government. Each overturn, instead of breaking up, carried this machine to higher perfection. The parties, that alternately wrestled for supremacy, looked upon the possession of this tremendous governmental structure as the principal spoils of their victory.

Nevertheless, under the absolute monarchy, during the first revolution, and under Napoleon, the bureaucracy was only the means whereby to prepare the class rule of the bourgeoisie; under the restoration, under Louis Philippe, and under the parliamentary republic, it was the instrument of the ruling class, however eagerly this class strained after autocracy. Not before the advent of the second Bonaparte does the government seem to have made itself fully independent. The machinery of government has by this time so thoroughly fortified itself against society, that the chief of the "Society of December 10" is thought good enough to be at its head; a fortune-hunter, run in from abroad, is raised on its shield by a drunken soldiery, bought by himself with liquor and sausages, and whom he is forced ever again to throw sops to. Hence the timid despair, the sense of crushing humiliation and degradation that oppresses the breast of France and makes her to choke. She feels dishonored.

And yet the French Government does not float in the air. Bonaparte represents an economic class, and that the most numerous in the commonweal of France—the ALLOTMENT FARMER.**

As the Bourbons are the dynasty of large landed property, as the Orleans are the dynasty of money; so are the Bonapartes the dynasty of the farmer, i. e., of the French masses. Not the Bonaparte, who threw himself at the feet of the bourgeois parliament, but the Bonaparte, who swept away the bourgeois parliament, is the elect of this farmer class. For three years the cities had succeeded in falsifying the meaning of the election of December 10, and in cheating the farmer out of the restoration of the Empire. The election of December 10, 1848, is not carried out until the "coup d'état" of December 2, 1851.

The allotment farmers are an immense mass, whose individual members live in identical conditions, without, however, entering into manifold relations with one another. Their method of production isolates them from one another, instead of drawing them into mutual intercourse. This isolation is promoted by the poor means of communication in France, together with the poverty of the farmers themselves. Their field of production, the small allotment of land that each cultivates, allows no room for a division of labor, and no opportunity for the application of science; in other words, it shuts out a manifoldness of development, a diversity of talent, and the luxury of social relations. Every single farmer family is almost self-sufficient; itself produces directly the greater part of what it consumes; and it earns its livelihood more by means of an interchange with nature than by intercourse with society. We have the allotted patch of land, the farmer and his family; alongside of that another allotted patch of land, another farmer and another family. A bunch of these makes up a village; a bunch of villages makes up a Department. Thus the large mass of the French nation is constituted by the simple addition of equal magnitudes—much as a bag with potatoes constitutes a potato-bag. In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and that place them in an attitude hostile toward the latter, they constitute a class; in so far as there exists only a local connection among these farmers, a connection which the individuality and exclusiveness of their interests prevent from generating among them any unity of interest, national connections, and political organization, they do not constitute a class. Consequently, they are unable to assert their class interests in their own name, be it by a parliament or by convention. They can not represent one another, they must themselves be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, as an unlimited governmental power, that protects them from the other class, and that, from above, bestows rain and sunshine upon them. Accordingly, the political influence of the allotment farmer finds its ultimate expression in an Executive power that subjugates the commonweal to its own autocratic will.

Historic tradition has given birth to the superstition among the French farmers that a man named Napoleon would restore to them all manner of glory. Now, then, an individual turns up, who gives himself out as that man because, obedient to the "Code Napoléon," which provides that "La récherche de la paternité est interdite,"* he carries the name of Napoleon.† After a vagabondage of twenty years, and a series of grotesque adventures, the myth is verified, and that man becomes the Emperor of the French. The rooted thought of the Nephew becomes a reality because it coincided with the rooted thought of the most numerous class among the French.

"But," I shall be objected to, "what about the farmers' uprisings over half France, the raids of the Army upon the farmers, the wholesale imprisonment and transportation of farmers?"

Indeed, since Louis XIV., France has not experienced such persecutions of the farmer on the ground of "demagogic machinations."

But this should be well understood: The Bonaparte dynasty does not represent the revolutionary, it represents the conservative farmer; it does not represent the farmer, who presses beyond his own economic conditions, his little allotment of land, it represents him rather who would confirm these conditions; it does not represent the rural population, that, thanks to its own inherent energy, wishes, jointly with the cities, to overthrow the old order, it represents, on the contrary, the rural population that, hide-bound in the old order, seeks to see itself, together with its allotments, saved and favored by the ghost of the Empire; it represents, not the intelligence, but the superstition of the farmer; not his judgment, but his bias; not his future, but his past; not his modern Cevennes;‡ but his modern Vendée.**

The three years' severe rule of the parliamentary republic had freed a part of the French farmers from the Napoleonic illusion, and, although only superficially, had even revolutionized them. The bourgeoisie threw them, however, violently back every time that they set themselves in motion. Under the parliamentary republic, the modern wrestled with the traditional consciousness of the French farmer. The process went on in the form of a continuous struggle between the school teachers and the parsons;—the bourgeoisie knocked the school teachers down. For the first time, the farmer made an effort to take an independent stand in the government of the country; this manifested itself in the prolonged conflicts of the Mayors with the Prefects;—the bourgeoisie deposed the Mayors. Finally, during the period of the parliamentary republic, the farmers of several localities rose against their own product, the Army;—the bourgeoisie punished them with states of siege and execution. And this is the identical bourgeoisie, that now howls over the "stupidity of the masses," over the "vile multitude," which, it claims, betrayed it to Bonaparte. Itself has violently fortified the imperialism of the farmer class; it firmly maintained the conditions that constitute the birthplace of this farmer-religion. Indeed, the bourgeoisie has every reason to fear the stupidity of the masses—so long as they remain conservative; and their intelligence—so soon as they become revolutionary.

In the revolts that took place after the "coup d'état," a part of the French farmers protested, arms in hand, against its own vote of December 10, 1848. The school house had, since 1848, sharpened its wit. But it had bound itself over to the nether world of history, and history kept it to its word. Moreover, the majority of this population was still so full of prejudices that, just in the "reddest" Departments, it voted openly for Bonaparte. The National Assembly prevented, as it thought, this population from walking; the farmers now snapped the fetters which the cities had struck upon the will of the country districts. In some places they even indulged the grotesque hallucination of a "Convention together with a Napoleon."

After the first revolution had converted the serf farmers into freeholders, Napoleon fixed and regulated the conditions under which, unmolested, they could exploit the soil of France, that had just fallen into their hands, and expiate the youthful passion for property. But that which now bears the French farmer down is that very allotment of land; it is the partition of the soil, the form of ownership, which Napoleon had consolidated. These are the material conditions that turned the French feudal peasant into a small or allotment farmer, and Napoleon into an Emperor. Two generations have sufficed to produce the inevitable result: the progressive deterioration of agriculture and the progressive encumbrance of the agriculturist. The "Napoleonic" form of ownership, which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the condition for the emancipation and enrichment of the French rural population, has, in the course of the century, developed into the law of their enslavement and pauperism. Now, then, this very law is the first of the "idées Napoléoniennes," which the second Bonaparte must uphold. If he still shares with the farmers the illusion of seeking, not in the system of small allotments itself, but outside of that system, in the influence of secondary conditions, the cause of their ruin, his experiments are bound to burst like soap-bubbles against the modern system of production.

The economic development of the allotment system has turned bottom upward the relation of the farmer to the other classes of society. Under Napoleon, the parceling out of the agricultural lands into small allotments supplemented in the country the free competition and the incipient large production of the cities. The farmer class was the ubiquitous protest against the aristocracy of land, just then overthrown. The roots that the system of small allotments cast into the soil of France, deprived feudalism of all nutriment. Its boundary-posts constituted the natural buttress of the bourgeoisie against every stroke of the old overlords. But in the course of the nineteenth century, the City Usurer stepped into the shoes of the Feudal Lord, the Mortgage substituted the Feudal Duties formerly yielded by the soil, bourgeois Capital took the place of the aristocracy of Landed Property. The farmer allotments are now only a pretext that allows the capitalist class to draw profit, interest and rent from agricultural lands, and to leave to the farmer himself the task of seeing to it that he knock out his wages. The mortgage indebtedness that burdens the soil of France imposes upon the French farmer class the payment of an interest as great as the annual interest on the whole British national debt. In this slavery of capital, whither its development drives it irresistibly, the allotment system has transformed the mass of the French nation into troglodytes. Sixteen million farmers (women and children included), house in hovels most of which have only one opening, some two, and the few most favored ones three. Windows are to a house what the five senses are to the head. The bourgeois social order, which, at the beginning of the century, placed the State as a sentinel before the newly instituted allotment, and that manured this with laurels, has become a vampire that sucks out its heart-blood and its very brain, and throws it into the alchemist's pot of capital. The "Code Napoléon" is now but the codex of execution, of sheriff's sales and of intensified taxation. To the four million (children, etc., included) official paupers, vagabonds, criminals and prostitutes, that France numbers, must be added five million souls who hover over the precipice of life, and either sojourn in the country itself, or float with their rags and their children from the country to the cities, and from the cities back to the country. Accordingly, the interests of the farmers are no longer, as under Napoleon, in harmony but in conflict with the interests of the bourgeoisie, i. e., with capital; they find their natural allies and leaders among the urban proletariat, whose mission is the overthrow of the bourgeois social order. But the "strong and unlimited government"—and this is the second of the 'idées Napoléoniennes," which the second Napoleon has to carry out—, has for its mission the forcible defence of this very "material" social order, a "material order" that furnishes the slogan in Bonaparte's proclamations against the farmers in revolt.

Along with the mortgage, imposed by capital upon the farmer's allotment, this is burdened by taxation. Taxation is the fountain of life to the bureaucracy, the Army, the parsons and the court, in short to the whole apparatus of the Executive power. A strong government and heavy taxes are identical. The system of ownership, involved in the system of allotments, lends itself by nature for the groundwork of a powerful and numerous bureaucracy; it produces an even level of conditions and of persons over the whole surface of the country; it, therefore, allows the exercise of an even influence upon all parts of this even mass from a high central point downwards; it annihilates the aristocratic gradations between the popular masses and the Government; it, consequently, calls from all sides for the direct intervention of the Government and for the intervention of the latter's immediate organs; and, finally, it produces an unemployed excess of population, that finds no room either in the country or in the cities, that, consequently, snatches after public office as a sort of dignified alms, and provokes the creation of further offices. With the new markets, which he opened at the point of the bayonet, and with the plunder of the continent, Napoleon returned to the farmer class with interest the taxes wrung from them. These taxes were then a goad to the industry of the farmer, while now, on the contrary, they rob his industry of its last source of support, and completely sap his power to resist poverty. Indeed, an enormous bureaucracy, richly gallooned and well fed is that "idée Napoléonienne" that above all others suits the requirements of the second Bonaparte. How else should it be, seeing he is forced to raise alongside of the actual classes of society, an artificial class, to which the maintenance of his own régime must be a knife-and-fork question? One of his first financial operations was, accordingly, the raising of the salaries of the government employés to their former standard, and the creation of new sinecures.

Another "idée Napoléonienne" is the rule of the parsons as an instrument of government. But while the new-born allotment, in harmony with society, in its dependence upon the powers of nature, and in its subordination to the authority that protected it from above, was naturally religious, the debt-broken allotment, on the contrary, at odds with society and authority, and driven beyond its own narrow bounds, becomes as naturally irreligious. Heaven was quite a pretty gift thrown in with the narrow strip of land that had just been won; all the more as it makes the weather; it, however, becomes an insult from the moment it is forced upon the farmer as a substitute for his allotment. Then the parson appears merely as the anointed bloodhound of the earthly police,—yet another "idée Napoléonienne." The expedition against Rome will next time take place in France, but in a reverse sense from that of M. de Montalembert.

Finally, the culminating point of the "idées Napoléoniennes" is the preponderance of the Army. The Army was the "point of honor" with the allotment farmer: it was themselves turned into masters, defending abroad their newly established property, glorifying their recently conquered nationality, plundering and revolutionizing the world. The uniform was their State costume; war was their poetry; the allotment, expanded and rounded up in their phantasy, was the fatherland; and patriotism became the ideal form of property. But the foe, against whom the French farmer must now defend his property, are not the Cossacks, they are the sheriffs and the tax collectors. The allotment no longer lies in the so-called fatherland, but in the register of mortgages. The Army itself no longer is the flower of the youth of the farmers, it is the swamp-blossom of the slum-proletariat of the farmer class. It consists of "remplaçants," substitutes, just as the second Bonaparte himself is but a "remplaçant," a substitute, for Napoleon. Its feats of heroism are now performed in raids instituted against farmers and in the service of the police;—and when the internal contradictions of his own system shall drive the chief of the "Society of December 10" across the French frontier, that Army will, after a few bandit-raids, gather no laurels but only hard knocks.

It is evident that all the "idées Napoléoniennes" are the ideas of the undeveloped and youthfully fresh allotment; they are a contradiction to the allotment that now survives. They are only the hallucinations of its death struggle; words turned to hollow phrases, spirits turned to spooks. But this parody of the Empire was requisite in order to free the mass of the French nation from the weight of tradition, and to elaborate sharply the contrast between the Government and Society. Along with the progressive decay of the allotment, the governmental structure, reared upon it, breaks down. The centralization of Government, requisite by modern society, rises only upon the ruins of the military and bureaucratic governmental machinery that was forged in contrast to feudalism.

The conditions of the French farmers' class solve to us the riddle of the general elections of December 20 and 21, that led the second Bonaparte to the top of Sinai, not to receive, but to decree laws.

The bourgeoisie had now, manifestly, no choice but to elect Bonaparte. When, at the Council of Constance, the Puritans complained of the sinful life of the Popes, and moaned about the need of a reform in morals, Cardinal d'Ailly thundered into their faces: "Only the devil in his own person can now save the Catholic Church, and you demand angels." So, likewise, did the French bourgeoisie cry out after the "coup d'état": "Only the chief of the 'Society of December 10' can now save bourgeois society; only theft can save property, only perjury religion, only bastardy the family, only disorder order!"

Bonaparte, as autocratic Executive power, fulfills his mission to secure "bourgeois order." But the strength of this bourgeois order lies in the middle class. He feels himself the representative of the middle class, and issues his decrees in that sense. Nevertheless, he is something only because he has broken the political power of this class, and daily breaks it anew. Hence, he feels himself the adversary of the political and the literary power of the middle class. But, by protecting their material, he nourishes anew their political power. Consequently, the cause must be kept alive, but the result, wherever it manifests itself, swept out of existence. But this procedure is impossible without slight mistakings of causes and effects, seeing that both, in their mutual action and reaction, lose their distinctive marks. Thereupon, new decrees, that blur the line of distinction. Bonaparte, furthermore, feels himself, as against the bourgeoisie, the representative of the farmer and the people in general, who, within bourgeois society, is to render the lower classes of society happy. To this end, new decrees, intended to exploit the "true Socialists," together with their governmental wisdom. But, above all, Bonaparte feels himself the chief of the "Society of December 10," the representative of the slum-proletariat, to which he himself, his immediate surroundings, his Government, and his army alike belong, the main object with all of whom is to be good to themselves, and draw Californian tickets out of the national treasury. And he affirms his chieftainship of the "Society of December 10" with decrees, without decrees, and despite decrees.

This contradictory mission of the man explains the contradictions of his own Government, and that confused groping about, that now seeks to win, then to humiliate now this class and then that, and finishes by arraying against itself all the classes whose actual insecurity constitutes a highly comical contrast with the imperious, categoric style of the Government acts, copied closely from the Uncle.

Industry and commerce, i. e., the business of the middle class, are to be made to blossom in hot-house style under the "strong Government." But the Bonapartist slum-proletariat is to enrich itself. Peculation is carried on with railroad concessions on the Bourse by the initiated; but no capital is forthcoming for the railroads. The bank then pledges itself to make advances upon railroad stock; but the bank is itself to be exploited; hence, it must be cajoled; it is released of the obligation to publish its reports weekly. Then follows a leonine treaty between the bank and the Government. The people are to be occupied: public works are ordered; but the public works raise the tax rates upon the people; thereupon the taxes are reduced by an attack upon the national bond-holders through the conversion of the five per cent. "rentes"* into four and a halves. Yet the middle class must again be tipped: to this end, the tax on wine is doubled for the people, who buy it at retail, and is reduced to one-half for the middle class, that drink it at wholesale. Genuine labor organizations are dissolved, but promises are made of future wonders to accrue from organization. The farmers are to be helped: mortgage-banks are set up that must promote the indebtedness of the farmer and the concentration of property; but again, these banks are to be utilized especially to the end of squeezing money out of the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans; no capitalist will listen to this scheme, which, moreover, is not mentioned in the decree; the mortgage bank remains a mere decree. Etc., etc.

Bonaparte would like to appear as the patriarchal benefactor of all classes; but he can give to none without taking from the others. As was said of the Duke of Guise, at the time of the Fronde, that he was the most obliging man in France because he had converted all his estates into bonds upon himself for his Parisians, so would Napoleon like to be the most obliging man of France and convert all property and all labor of France into a personal bond upon himself. He would like to steal the whole of France to make a present thereof to France, or rather to be able to purchase France back again with French money;—as chief of the "Society of December 10," he must purchase that which is to be his. All the State institutions, the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislature, the Legion of Honor, the Soldiers' decorations, the public baths, the public buildings, the railroads, the General Staff of the National Guard exclusive of the rank and file, the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans,—all are converted into institutions for purchase and sale. Every place in the Army and the machinery of Government becomes a purchasing power. The most important thing, however, in this process, whereby France is taken to be given back to herself, are the percentages that, in the transfer, drop into the hands of the chief and the members of the "Society of December 10." The witticism with which the Countess of L., the mistress of de Morny, characterized the confiscations of the Orleanist estates: "C'est le premier vol de l'aigle,"† fits every flight of the eagle that is rather a crow. He himself and his followers daily call out to themselves, like the Italian Carthusian monk in the legend does to the miser, who displayfully counted the goods on which he could live for many years to come: "Tu fai conto sopra i beni, bisogna prima far il conto sopra gli anni."‡ In order not to make a mistake in the years, they count by minutes. A crowd of fellows, of the best among whom all that can be said is that one knows not whence he comes—a noisy, restless "Bohème," greedy after plunder, that crawls about in gallooned frocks with the same grotesque dignity as Soulonque's** Imperial dignitaries—, thronged the court, crowded the ministries, and pressed upon the head of the Government and of the Army. One can picture to himself this upper crust of the "Society of December 10" by considering that Béron Crevel†† is their preacher of morality, and Granier de Cassagnac their thinker. When Guizat, at the time he was Minister, used this Granier on an obscure sheet against the dynastic opposition, he used to praise him with the term: "C'est le roi des drôles.‡‡ It were a mistake to recall the days of the Regency or of Louis XV. by the court and the kit of Louis Bonaparte's: "Often did France have a mistress-administration, but never yet an administration of kept men."***

Harassed by the contradictory demands of his situation, and compelled, like a sleight-of-hands performer, to keep, by means of constant surprises, the eyes of the public riveted upon himself as the substitute of Napoleon, compelled, consequently, every day to accomplish a sort of "coup" on a small scale, Bonaparte throws the whole bourgeois social system into disorder; he broaches everything that seemed unbroachable by the revolution of 1848; he makes one set of people patient under the revolution, and another anxious for it; and he produces anarchy itself in the name of order, by rubbing off from the whole machinery of the Government the veneer of sanctity, by profanating it, by rendering it at once nauseating and laughable. He rehearses in Paris the cult of the sacred coat of Trier with the cult of the Napoleonic Imperial mantle. But, when the Imperial mantle shall have finally fallen upon the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, then will also the iron statue of Napoleon drop down from the top of the Vendôme column.†††

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* Within fifty years Europe will be either republican or Cossack.

† Cossack republic.

‡ It is the complete and definite triumph of Socialism.

** The first French Revolution distributed the bulk of the territory of France, held at the time by the feudal lords, in small patches among the cultivators of the soil. This allotment of lands created the French farmer class.

* The inquiry into paternity is forbidden.

† L. N. Bonaparte is said to have been an illegitimate son.

‡ The Cevennes were the theater of the most numerous revolutionary uprisings of the farmer class.

** La Vendée was the theater of protracted reactionary uprisings of the farmer class under the first Revolution.

* The name of the French national bonds.

† "It is the first flight of the eagle." The French word "vol" means theft as well as flight.

‡ "You count your property, you should rather count the years left to you."

** Soulonque was the negro Emperor of the shortlived negro Empire of Hayti.

†† Crevel is a character of Balzac, drawn after Dr. Béron, the proprietor of the "Constitutional" newspaper, as a type of the dissolute Parisian Philistine.

‡‡ "He is the king of the clowns."

*** Madame de Girardin.

††† A prophecy that a few years later, after Bonaparte's coronation as Emperor, was literally fulfilled. By order of the Emperor Louis Napoleon, the military statue of the first Napoleon that originally surmounted the Vendôme column, was taken down and replaced by one of first Napoleon in imperial robes.

[The End.]

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PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS — Secretary Robert Baudlow, 193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

Meeting held November 3, with Comrade Furman in the chair. The financial report for the week ending October 30 showed receipts to the amount of $215.05; expenditures, $144.16; balance, $70.89. Michael McManus, of Jersey, Ariz., is upon application admitted as a member at large. Articles of incorporation of a Publishing Association for the State of Minnesota are referred to a special committee, to be reported at next meeting.

Charters were granted to new sections in Brockton and Boston, Mass.; Butler, McDonald, Finleyville and Turtle Creek, Pa.; Maynard and Steubenville, Ohio; Section Hollister, Ohio, has been reorganized.

Meeting held November 9, with Comrade Teche in the chair. Financial report showed receipts for the week ending November 6 to have been $27.50; expenditures, $31.20; deficit, $3.70.

The secretary is instructed to communicate with Section New York with a view to arrange for a concert, with the aid of Platon Braunoff, for the purpose of raising means for the publication of a Socialist song album.

Resolved, to continue the General Agitation Fund in the party organs in order to augment the income of the National Executive Committee, the result of the last election having shown that the field is ripening and that by conducting an aggressive agitation with sufficient means good results may be obtained.

Charters were granted to new Sections in Mount Carmel, Pa., and Racine, Wis.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

Illinois.

FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE STATE COMMITTEE.

RECEIPTS.

Aug. 16—Sold Sec. Chicago 200 due stamps	$20.00
Sept. 2—Sold Amer. Sec. Peoria stamps	1.70
Sept. 21—Sold Sec. Chicago 200 stamps	20.00
Sept. 21—Sold 13th Ward Branch, leaflets	1.00
Oct. 9—Sold Sec. Collinsville stamps	1.50
Oct. 9—Sold Sec. East St. Louis stamps	3.50
Oct. 14—Sold Sec. Coal City stamps	2.00
Oct. 14—Sold Sec. Coal City leaflets	2.50
Oct. 19—Sold Sec. Chicago stamps	10.00
Nov. 2—Sold Sec. Peoria leaflets	1.50
Nov. 3—Sold 5th Ward Branch leaflets	1.50
Cash on hand Aug. 16	64.12
Total	$129.32

EXPENDITURES.

July 29—200 stamps	$10.00
Aug. 19—400 stamps	20.00
" 19—One trunk	1.20
Sept. 2—Postage	51
" 16—Leaflets	9.00
" 28—Postage	42
Oct. 14—400 stamps	20.00
" 14—Membership cards	80
" 28—Postage	80
Total	$62.73
Cash on hand Nov. 3	66.59
Total	$129.32

STAMP ACCOUNT.

July 29—On hand	28
" 29—Bought	200
Aug. 19—Bought	400
Oct. 14—Bought	400
Total	1028
Aug. 16—Sold	200
Sept. 2—Sold	34
" 21—Sold	200
Oct. 9—Sold	42
" 9—Sold	35
" 14—Sold	20
" 19—Sold	100
Total	631
On hand Nov. 3	397
Total	1028

J. R. PEPIN, Fin. Secy.

Massachusetts.

SOMERVILLE, Mass., Nov. 7—Section Somerville has decided to place candidates in the field at the coming municipal election. Although working under adverse circumstances, the Somerville Comrades believe the time is not far distant when they will reap a bountiful harvest from the seed they are now sowing. To those who believe the present system is not a failure we try to prove that it is.

Surely no system can be a success under which women and children are forced into the factory and mines, while strong, able-bodied men walk the streets asking for a chance to earn their bread. Under the present system misery and poverty everywhere abound, people growing despondent are taking their own lives, and every daily paper contains the sickening details of new murders. It is to change all this that we labor. Poverty is not necessary. Women should be in the home and not in the factory; children should be at school and not in the mines; and every man should have work. Under the present system, where the wealth producer is robbed, of nearly all he produces, our condition must continue from bad to worse.

How different would things be under Socialism! A few hours' work in productive employment by the men of the nation would be sufficient to enable every man, woman and child to live in luxury. All would enjoy opportunities for leisure, eduaction and development along all lines.

Such a cause is worthy of our support, and believing that the Socialist Labor Party should do all in its power to capture the cities and towns, we have nominated the following ticket:

For Mayor:
SQUIRE E. PUTNEY.

For Aldermen at Large:
AUGUSTUS PACHEUR,
MATTHEW LOVEN.

For Common Councilman, Ward 2:
EDWARD N. KELLEY.

Missouri.

REPORT OF THE MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER '97.

RECEIPTS.

Oct.		
1	On hand	$1.70
13	Sec. St. Louis, 100 "Merrie Englands"	6.15
13	Sec. St. Louis, 50 due stamps	5.00
20	Peter Schuret, to press fund	1.00
20	Emil Lochman, to press fund	1.00
22	Sec. Bevier, No. 2, 11 due stamps	1.10
23	Sec. St. Louis, 40 due stamps	4.00
28	6th Ward Club, Sec. St. Louis, writing paper	5
	Total	$20.00

EXPENDITURES.

5	Inland Type Foundry, chase plant and leads	$1.60
6	Inland Type Foundry, spaces and quads	30
11	Sent H. Kuhn, for due stamps	5.00
14	Inland Type Foundry, type and case	2.09
16	Inland Type Foundry, labor-saving rules	1.15
16	90 stamps and cards	1.20
18	Iuland Type Foundry, composing stick	70
19	Benzine	5
20	Red ink	5
25	Henry Kuhn, for due stamps	5.00
30	Type and leads	2.75
	Total	$19.89
	Receipts	$20.00
	Expenditures	19.89
	On hand	11

PRINTING OUTFIT FUND.

Received	$5.00
Subscribed to pay on demand	40.00
Total	$45.00
Expended for material	$14.84

LEWIS C. FRY, Secy.

New Hampshire.

The New Hampshire State Committee at their session held Nov. 2d resolved that in view of the much needed French agitation in the textile centres of New England, a systematic tour be arranged with a French speaker.

In order that maximum benefits might be immediately derived with a minimum of effort and expense, the Secretary was directed to have published in the party organs a call to all New England Sections having a French population in their respective localities, and to solicit correspondence from them.

All Sections interested in this proposition should communicate with
AUGUST MINARD, Secy., State Com.,
140 3d st., Manchester, N. H.

New Jersey.

PATERSON, N. J., Nov. 8.—A very interesting meeting of the committee of the "Flag Presentation Festival" was held Sunday, Nov. 7. The reports of all sub-committees showed that every member of the committee means business. The Secretary reported that Mrs. Johanna Greie, of Elizabeth, and Mrs. Martha Moore Avery, of Boston, Mass., will be present to make short addresses on the history of the "Red Flag." Also that a committee of the Comrades of Newark had been in Paterson to find out what arrangements had been made to receive them, as they desire to be present, perhaps 120 or more. Comrade John C. Duff was instructed to get a permit for a parade from the Mayor.

Comrade Matt. Maguire will set the ball agoing by one of his remarkable speeches. It would take too much space to have the programme in this report, but I can state that it will be suitable and very effective. All Comrades and sympathizers are requested to push the sale of tickets, as we have only two more weeks to complete arrangements.

C. B.

New York.

N. Y. CITY.—By resolution of the Central organization of the 34th and 35th A. D., I write this week's edition on the work in Bronx Borough. We closed our year's work by a parade and mass meeting at Ebling's Casino, Thursday evening, November 28th, which was addressed by Comrade Morgan. We had decided to centre all our forces in the 16th A. S. on Monday night before election in support of Comrade De Leon, but as it stormed we were not needed. The Comrades rallied in full force at our last meeting, and no end of enthusiasm was displayed; they heard with unfeigned delight the glad tidings of the progress of Socialism. The success achieved in the 16th A. D. was something phenomenal; in fact the results all around were something to be proud of considering the powers that were pitted against us and the deplorable lack of intelligence amongst the wage-slaves who have not yet seen the bright light of Socialism. We have started the ball a rolling and begun the battle for 1898. Each election district in the Borough of Bronx will be manned by a Comrade, who shall make a thorough and systematic canvas of every voter, and such Comrade shall be responsible and credited with all campaign work in his district. We will open our lecture course this Sunday evening, at our headquarters, 3d avenue and 149th street, which, by the way, are open every evening from 7:30 to 10:30 o'clock as a free reading room. THE PEOPLE, "Volks-Zeitung" and other papers and periodicals are found on the files.

We have also begun preparations for the establishment of a school for the making of speakers for the battle of 1898, the same to be opened in a few weeks at headquarters. It is hoped that all Socialists living in the vicinity and others who may desire to do so shall pay these headquarters a visit. We want and must have every citizen who believes in Socialism living in the 34th and 35th A. D. in our organization. We appeal to all Socialists to rally. This is no time for cowards or backsliders. Every true Socialist should be enlisted in this battle for human emancipation. All information on organization will be cheerfully given by the writer.

JOHN J. KINNEALLY,
Sec. Central Organization, 34th and 35th A. D., 419 St. Ann's avenue.

The next meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., will be held on Saturday, November 13, 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, New York. Delegates should not fail to attend.

L. ABELSON, Organizer,
Socialist Labor Party, Section Greater New York.

Eighteenth Assembly District of Greater New York.—Sunday evening lectures, free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 315 East 17th street, near 1st avenue, New York City. Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 216 1st avenue, between 14th and 15th streets. Come and join.

Programme of lectures for November, 1897: Nov. 7, "The Socialism of Capitalism," lecturer, James Allman; Nov. 14, "Socialism," lecturer, A. S. Brown; Nov. 21, "Fallacies of Capitalist Political Economy," lecturer William Edlin; Nov. 28, "Class Struggles in America," lecturer, Hugo Vogt." Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m. Questions will be answered after the lecture, but must be confined to the subject.

BROOKLYN—Lectures and discussions on political, social and economic questions, every Sunday evening, at Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street. November programme—Sunday, November 7, "The Socialist Labor Party After Election," C. H. Matchett; Sunday, November 14, "Masses in Free America," C. L. Furman; Sunday, November 21, "An Outline of the History of Socialism," M. Hillquit; Sunday, November 28, "The Difficulties of a Realizationist," P. E. Burrowes. All lectures begin at 8 p. m. and occupy about 45 minutes. We invite discussion after each lecture, limiting debate to six minutes. At 9.45 the discussion will be ended by the closing remarks of the speaker.

Buffalo, Attention!

This Sunday, November 14, at 2.30 p. m., the monthly joint meeting of the Section Buffalo will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 550 Broadway. It is the duty of every member to be present. If you neglect this duty, you have no right to kick if things are done in the party that you do not like.

The discussion meeting of the American Branch will be held the same date, at 8 p. m., in Labor Lyceum. The discussion on the subject of the last meeting: "Services Rendered by Capitalism to Civilization," will be continued, with particular reference to materialist and idealist views views on history. At this meeting will be played for the first time in Buffalo the Party song, "Arm and Hammer." Come and bring friends along.

Thursday, November 25, Thanksgiving Day, an entertainment will be held in Jefferson Park Hall for the benefit of our common home, the Labor Lyceum. Tickets @ 10c. can be had at the Labor Lyceum. Let every friend try to do his best to make it a success. Apply to Comrade Steenmans at the Labor Lyceum.

B. REINSTEIN.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

Joint District Alliances of Greater New York.

At the meeting held Saturday, November 6, Delegate M. Sontheimer was chairman and Delegate L. Schwartz was vice-chairman.

All D. A.'s excepting D. A. No. 3, Brooklyn, were represented.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations reported progress, and delegates were added to it.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 reported that the German Waiters' Prot. Ass. was trying to have its members discharged at "The World" restaurant. It appeared that Typographical Union No. 6 would aid in this outrage, on the ground of it belonging to the Label League, and claiming to be morally bound to aid a sister union! A debate ensued, during which the existing pure and simple typographical unions were severely criticized, and it was stated that especially the Hebrew American Typographical Union No. 83 predominated in its violent efforts to keep the working class in ignorance, and on Election Day did heelers' work for the capitalist parties. The members of said union, employed by the "Abendblatt," committed a criminal act on Election eve by deliberately and maliciously inserting a wrong mark in the ring of the S. L. P. ticket, thus trying to mislead the voters, and making the ballot so cast defective. The proof reader had twice corrected the error, but each time the ticket was marked wrong. It was thereupon resolved that a demand be made upon the "Abendblatt" Alliance to discharge the members of the scab Hebrew American Typographical Union No. 83 for this action immediately and in their places employ the union members of the Progressive Typographical Union No. 83."

D. A. No. 7, District Council of Shoemakers, reported the following stores as selling the boycotted shoes of Grossmann: H. C. F. Koch, 132 West 125th street; Thomas Stillman, 224 Greenwich street; J. S. Coward, 270 Greenwich street; L. M. Hirsch, 176 Grand street; H. Jantzen, 242 and 248 Sixth avenue, and Baggart, 123d street and Third avenue. The secretary was instructed to communicate these places to the D. A.'s and request that the members of the affiliated unions be urged not to deal in these places.

It was resolved that in future the roll be called of delegates and organizations, and the D. A.'s be notified of the absentees.

The secretary was also instructed to remit a copy of the S. T. & L. A. constitution and a statement of the action of Hebrew American Typographical Union No. 83 to Mr. Donnelly, president of Typographical Union No. 6, and request to carefully peruse both.

It was further resolved to request the Gen. Ex. B., S. T. & L. A., to answer the circular issued by Typographical Union No. 7, nailing its false pretenses.

L. Pomrantz was elected treasurer and instructed to collect the adopted monthly tax of $1.80.

The officers were instructed to secure a permanent meeting hall, if possible, at 64 East Fourth street.

Comrade Thomas J. Morgan, of Chicago, thereupon reviewed both the S. T. & L. A. and pure and simple movement at Chicago, Ill.

The next meeting will take place on December 4.

D. A. No. 1.

Delegate G. Lambert, of the Progressive Club, was chairman at last Sunday's session of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation. D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and Delegate Paul Breitenbacher, of the Bartenders' Union No. 1, was vice-chairman.

An invitation from the "Volkszeitung" Conference to attend the festival on November 25 at the Grand Central Palace was referred to the delegates.

The Gen. Ex. B., S. T. & L. A., communicated the nominees to fill the vacancy on it as follows: D. A. No. 1 nominated B. Korn, L. Schwartz, L. Fischer. D. A. No. 2 nominated B. Weinstein. D. A. No. 49 nominated L. Schwartz. D. A.'s Nos. 3 and 4 made no nominations.

Delegate A. Waldinger resigned as a member of the Executive Committee of the D. A.'s. The same was accepted and Delegate G. Luck elected in his place.

The report of the joint D. A. meeting was received; it is published in another part of this paper.

United Engineers' Union No. 1 reported having voted for L. Schwartz as a member of the G. E. B. The union also decided to recommend that the C. L. E. purchase a full complement of the "City Record" containing the list of registered voters, and thus find out if members of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. failed to register this year. The S. T. & L. A. was also urged to have watchers both inside and outside of the polling places next year.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 voted for L. Schwartz as member of the Gen. Ex. B.

Bartenders' Union No. 1 voted for B. Korn as member of the Gen. Ex. B.

Waiters' Alliance Liberty reported that the trouble had been amicably arranged with Café Cosmopolitan and requested that the boycott on same be lifted. Acquiesced in.

Progressive Typographical Union No. 83 reported making good progress and gaining members. Hebrew American Typographical Union had agitated in the 16th Ass. Dist. against De Leon's candidacy and attempted by false statements to induce voters not to vote for him, but De Leon's vote showed that they have no influence whatever.

A report in Sunday's "Volkszeitung" by Hy. Wehner, in which he had announced that the L. A.'s of Boston would use a different label from that issued by the S. T. & L. A., was debated, and it was decided to request the G. E. B. not to permit any D. A. or L. A. to use any other label but the uniform label of the S. T. & L. A.

A committee from the Working Women's Ass. Branch 13, S. L. P., requested support for a festival arranged at Everett Hall, East Fourth street. As this is a notorious scab hall, the request was not granted.

Ind. Bakers' Union Br. 1 reported having trouble with Boss Schnuk, Second avenue, between 84th and 85th streets. Referred to the Arbitration Committee. They voted for B. Korn as member of the Gen. Ex. B.

Bohemian Butchers' Union No. 1 reported that bosses Schnurmacher & Levy settled the differences with the union and would employ its members, commencing Monday, November 8.

It was resolved to elect a committee to bid Comrade T. J. Morgan farewell in the name of this body when he leaves for Chicago, November 8.

The machinists' strike in England was debated, and the consensus of opinion was that they should join the Socialist movement, and by it emancipate themselves and aid the other trades.

The delegates were urged to attend the demonstration in the evening arranged for Comrade Morgan at the Thalia Theatre.

The Arbitration Committee reported that a committee from the Hebrew American Typographical Union had called upon A. H. Rosenberg, 50 Canal street, and threatened to boycott him if he did not discharge the members of the Prog. Typographical Union No. 83. He refused to do so, and should therefore receive the support of all progressive unions.

THE DAILY PEOPLE
$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to November 10th, 1897.

$4,575.

☞ Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$254.25
F. L., Trenton, N. J.	2.00
Ernest Lemmon, Barre, V.	1.00
On list No. 6, collected by Chas. B. Ehrhart, Flushing, N. Y., as follows:	
Chas. B. Ehrhart, Flushing, N. Y.	$1.00
Henry Uhlig, Flushing, N. Y.	.25
S. L. Drouve, Flushing, N. Y.	.50
W. Jerabek, N. Y. City	.50
J. L. Hicks, N. Y. City	1.00
Jos. H. Smith, Flushing, N. Y.	.50
W. Bergmann, Flushing, N. Y.	.25
L. Viohl, Flushing, N. Y.	.50
George Stein, Glendale, N. Y.	.50
	5.00
Section Peekskill, N. Y., on lists Nos. 1 and 2	6.00
Total	$268.25

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor Party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

1. Any ten person may organize themselves into a section, provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties.

2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.—Organizer.
2.—Recording and corresponding secretary.
3.—Financial Secretary.
4.—Treasurer.
5.—Literary agent.
6.—Chairman, each meeting.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1.—Reading of minutes.
2.—New members.
3.—Correspondence.
4.—Financial report.
5.—Report of organizer.
6.—Report of committees.
7.—Unfinished business.
8.—New business.

4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each section. A monthly remittance of 10 cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of members, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita, is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the section.

7. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions.

8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee.

9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as members at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn,
184 William street, New York City.

To Irish Comrades.

All the copies of the pamphlet "The Rights of Ireland and the Faith of a Felon," received from Dublin from the Irish Socialist Republican Party, have been sold out; and there only remain on hand samples of the handsome green due card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which can be had at 5 cents each from

Labor News Co.,
64 E. 4th street, New York City.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores:

Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.

Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.

Crosadell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

"Skand. Am. Arbetaren."

Our Swedish Party Organ can be had on trial for two months for 10 cents. Every comrade who wants to help to push along our cause and who happens to know any Swedes, would do us a great favor by sending in the names and addresses with (or even without) 10 cents. Postage stamps accepted. Let the expected reader pay the price himself if possible, but at any rate, send along the name and address.

SKANDINAVIAN AM. ARBETAREN,
33-37 Frankfort St., New York, N. Y.

Trades and Societies Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union.) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 202

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 39

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (Germans), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III. meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV. meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 26

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: HENRY ZINCK.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 334

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E 4th St. 241

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 33d St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th & 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 149th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

WORKMEN'S
Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership 10,000.
Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS, daily except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 9 o'clock P. M.

BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Albany, N. Y. Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River Passaic, N. J. Boston, Holyoke, Mass. New Haven and Waterbury, Conn Pittsburg, Allegheny, Luzern, Altoona, Pa. Chicago, Ill. 239

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S
Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 139 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of $4.00 for the first class and $3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $9.00 for 40 weeks and of $4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time $6.00 and $3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 20 workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25—27 3rd Ave., Room 82, New York City.

DR. C. L. FURMAN,
DENTIST, 180
121 SCHERMERHORN ST., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

HILLKOWITZ & HILLQUIT,
Attorneys at Law,
320 Broadway, Rooms 1314—1316.

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87 Frankfort Street 87
Cor. Pearl St.,
Franklin Square E. R. R. Station
Orders will be taken at 116 E. 8th street, betw Avenue A and First Ave., New York City. 141

BROOKLYN
LABOR LYCEUM,
949-955 Willoughby Av.
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Meeting Rooms. Large Hall for Mass Meetings. Books open for Balls and Pic-Nics.
Workmen! Patronize Your Own Home!

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cor. New Chambers and William Sts.
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German and English.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Platform and constitution, 50 cents per 100.
Due cards, 40 cents yer 100.
Application cards, 40 cents per 100.
Address all orders for supplies to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, New York, N. Y.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following news stores in Providence:
A. P. Linn, 323 Eddy street.
F. E. Hutchinson, 428 Smith street.
James H. Nolan, 158 Charles street.
T. J. Matthews, 1851 Westminster st.
James McGuigan, 147 Manton avenue.
Frank Randall, Cranston street, near Parade street.